

The Barry Gray Show, 11:00 P.M.

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BARRY GRAY AND COMPANIONS HECKLE PACIFIST GUEST

Guests: Alexander de Seversky, aviation expert and author of 'America, Too Young to Die'; Victor Riesel, Hearst Press columnist; Dan Brigham, military affairs editor for the New York Journal American; David McReynolds, field secretary of the War Resisters League and staff coordinator of the Civil Defense Protest Committee.

GRAY: "Major De Seversky, I wonder if you can tell me first what your reaction is -- all the noise that emanates from Washington about the right of military generals to speak or be censored?"

DE SEVERSKY: "No, I personally feel of course that our top military men, when they speak and address, that their speeches ought to be in unison with our foreign policy and with our national aims. But it's a different story when they talk to troops, and when they talk to troops it generally is classified, the public is excluded and I think that every officer ought to explain them about the communism.

"After all, it's -- we recognize communism as our potential enemy. It's a world conspiracy that's bent on the destruction of the United States and I see nothing wrong with our officers explaining it such. That is, I think, most of our officers are doing."

GRAY: "Where do you find yourself today at the end of the first year of the Kennedy Administration on the subject of our preparedness?"

DE SEVERSKY: "Well, my opinion hasn't changed very much. Of course political utterance has changed. Missile gap has been reversed in a matter of days actually. First we had a tremendous missile gap, something like Russia will have 500 missiles and we have only 100 missiles, and all of a sudden now we find out that the gap is in our favor.

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"What I feel is that the actual intelligence information always was and is and probably will be a political football. Each administration uses intelligence information, interpretation of our intelligence information, to suit its particular purposes. If they want more appropriation for military, they build Russians into giants. If they want to slow down and spend more money on public works and domestic purposes, well then they shrink them to a pygmy, and this is what is going on right now.

"Actually I still stand, I'm still of the same opinion that Russia is still far ahead of us in operational ballistic missiles and the only power that keeps Russia back now is our bombers and our Strategic Air Command, and it will be so for some time."

GRAY: "I'm bouncing around purposely, Major, in order to give us an ample prologue so that we may then move into the discussion period. Recently it has been suggested that the CIA be -- have as its overlord, so to speak, a committee representing the House and/or the Senate. What would you say of that kind of involvement in CIA activities, budget et cetera?"

DE SEVERSKY: "No, I think that there's nothing wrong with our -- you mean you're talking about Central Intelligence?"

GRAY: "Central Intelligence."

DE SEVERSKY: "It simply the question is of simply appointing right people who ought to see to that that the personnel is devoted to their duty and to see to that that -- as a matter of fact, I have very little quarrel with CIA. I -- my quarrel is with interpretation of CIA rather than the actual facts.

"I think we -- I think our intelligence is growing better, there's no question about it, but interpretation of the facts I mean depends entirely on the political mood of what the administration in power wants to accomplish."

GRAY: "Mr. McReynolds, before I talk with you a little more definitively. I'd be curious to find out what the War Resisters League is and what's the Civil Defense Protest Committee?"

MC REYNOLDS: "Well, the War Resisters League is a pacifist organization. It's been operating since 1923 and we opposed the second world war and also we oppose -- we oppose military preparations for any war, civil or international at any time."

GRAY: "You're talking about unilateral disarmament?"

MC REYNOLDS: "Members of the league individually would be for unilateral disarmament, yes. We're opposed to any war."

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GRAY: "When you say you were opposed to World War II, this was after Pearl Harbor?"

MC REYNOLDS: "Before and after Pearl Harbor, yes."

GRAY: "What would you have done -- what did you suggest we do after Pearl Harbor?"

MC REYNOLDS: "Well, there was nothing which the pacifists could do after Pearl Harbor except go to jail, which thousands of them then did."

GRAY: "No, I mean what was your proposal?"

MC REYNOLDS: "There was no realistic proposal at that point; nothing which was done at that point was realistic, and as it turned out..."

GRAY: "Well, did you feel, do you feel now that we should have acted differently than we did on December the 8th, '41?"

MC REYNOLDS: "Well look, the pacifist position is an individual position of the person who realizes it may not be political at that moment, but he is unable to bring himself to shoot other people, and whether or not the war may make sense for some people he is not going to take part in anybody's war on anybody's side.

"In fact, the second world war did not solve any problems. You defeated Nazism and you emerged with communism as the dominant world force, as you defeated the Czar -- the Kaiser in World War I and you emerged with Hitler to fight a World War II. And at some point the pacifist says you stop this and try to find non-violent ways of defending your freedom. And in this sense we had no mass program that would be accepted by the American public in 1941, and therefore..."

GRAY: "Now you feel you have."

MC REYNOLDS: "We're not sure that we have now either, no. We are convinced that war today is insanity and we're looking for alternatives to war along the lines of organizing non-violent resistance to war."

GRAY: "Mr. McReynolds, I respect your view and I'm happy to have you here, but what always puzzles me is that how angry the pacifists get when someone disagrees with them and they always look as though they want to hit him."

MC REYNOLDS: "Well, the pacifist is as aggressive as anybody

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else. We just don't happen to agree about the military question, that's all."

GRAY: "You mean..."

MC REYNOLDS: "Now the Civil Defense Protest Committee, this was a group which was organized in nineteen fifty -- 1959 or 1960 and it conducted the two mass protests in New York in 1960 and '61 at City Hall Park in which thousands took part, and has organized protests in the high schools and colleges in the New York area and now is organizing protests all through the country."

GRAY: "What do you believe will happen if we unilaterally disarm?"

MC REYNOLDS: "Well, I don't think we're going to unilaterally disarm."

GRAY: "Well, that's not the question though. What would happen if we did? I'm delighted that we're not, but what would happen if we did?"

MC REYNOLDS: "Well, I think it would -- you have -- what are the context in which you're doing this? If you've done a lot of other things first, then it makes -- then it would make sense."

GRAY: "Tomorrow morning we wake up and say, folks, everything including the .22 rifle is outlawed. We're finished with armament. What do you think would happen?"

MC REYNOLDS: "Well, I think it would first of all mean an economic collapse for America because we're not prepared for that, number one. Number two, I think that it would mean, providing we didn't collapse economically, it would mean that America would become a tremendously powerful moral center in the world. I think it would provide -- give back to America the moral leadership that we don't now have because in fact we cannot defend freedom with war and we cannot defend it with militarism.

"The hope of freedom rests in peace and in finding non-violent ways of fighting for freedom."

GRAY: "The most moral people I can think of, as you speak, and you know I can only -- I work here like the muse of the harpsichord. You press a button and kind of notes fly out of cranium. I think of all the pacifists that come to mind immediately and the most pacifist group I can recall were the Jews in Warsaw, who were certainly pacifists by every record. Do you recall what happened to them?"

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MC REYNOLDS: "No, they were not pacifists by the way. The Jews practiced not any kind of nonviolent resistance. They simply practiced no resistance, and one of the tragedies of the Jews, not in Warsaw by the way but they did practice a very heroic resistance..."

GRAY: "Non, only in the later days, I'm talking about the beginning of that campaign."

MC REYNOLDS: "There was no resistance by the Jews not only in Warsaw but in Germany also..."

GRAY: "Uh-hum."

MC REYNOLDS: "And this I think was a tragedy; that there should have been resistance, whatever kind of resistance a Jew thought he could have taken part in, violent or nonviolent, he should have taken part in that resistance."

BRIGHAM: "Well, he did and then what happened to him?"

GRAY: "Mr. Brigham."

MC REYNOLDS: "He didn't do this except in Warsaw and he was then killed."

BRIGHAM: "Did you get a chance to see the piles of dead pulled out of graves at Dachau?"

MC REYNOLDS: "No, I didn't."

BRIGHAM: "Did you see photographs of them?"

MC REYNOLDS: "Yes, I did. Of course I..."

BRIGHAM: "And that didn't change your mind about allowing freedom to come to you by standing up and refusing to hit back?"

MC REYNOLDS: "I didn't say that freedom was going to come to anybody. Did you see the photographs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki?"

BRIGHAM: "I sure did."

MC REYNOLDS: "And that didn't change your mind about warfare?"

BRIGHAM: "Not a bit, because we didn't hit first."

MC REYNOLDS: "Well, we did in that case."

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BRIGHAM: "We hit first in that case. We were still fighting back in a war."

MC REYNOLDS: "We did not need to drop that bomb. Japan was already suing for peace and that's a war crime..."

BRIGHAM: "Japan had not sued for peace. Japan had approached for peace."

GRAY: "Mr. -- Mr. McReynolds, I always like to keep the record straight, if possible. Mr. McReynolds, the Japanese government, the imperial government, asked for peace terms..."

MC REYNOLDS: "Uh-hum."

GRAY: "...and our reply was, if you will recall the Churchill and Roosevelt statement, unconditional surrender. There's a large difference between suing for peace terms and unconditional surrender."

MC REYNOLDS: "And unconditional surrender is a very foolish slogan."

GRAY: "Why?"

MC REYNOLDS: "It was a very unpolitical slogan."

GRAY: "We did not start the war. We wanted to make sure the Japanese, as we -- the government then existed and the military hierarchy, were destroyed once and for all."

MC REYNOLDS: "What it meant was that whereas in World War I you had Wilson's 14 points that tended to create a resistance within Germany to the Kaiser and helped to shorten the war, in World War II the terms were unconditional surrender and they unified the Germans behind Hitler and they unified the Japanese behind the Japanese government because they were convinced that if we took over we would demolish them. This was their fear. And we didn't offer them any kind of terms which would have made sense, which would have involved ending their military regime, which would have involved democracy, all of these points.

"As it turned out, in the case of Japan for example, we did finally give the Japanese the thing which they were most worried about, which was their emperor. If we had announced in advance that the emperor would have been respected, this would have been

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not unconditional surrender but surrender with conditions, which we later accepted ourselves."

GRAY: "Yes, but we had not yet decided at that day in our history that the emperor was going to remain. You'll recall there were many meetings about that, and that point was finally decided."

MC REYNOLDS: "It is foolish to unify your enemy when you're trying to defeat him. It is better to divide him by letting him know what terms the surrender will be made on. And I think the Roosevelt policy of unconditional surrender was one of the most incredible blunders, politically speaking, that this government ever made."

GRAY: "Is that why the Japanese are democratic for the first time in their history?"

MC REYNOLDS: "They're democratic despite..."

GRAY: "And have an unbelievable economy?"

MC REYNOLDS: "...despite, not because of, that particular slogan, which tended to prolong the war with both the eastern and the western..."

GRAY: "It didn't prolong it very long.."

BRIGHAM: "It prolonged it maybe 48 hours."

MC REYNOLDS: "This is where we disagree, you see, on historic record, that's all."

GRAY: "How about the..."

MC REYNOLDS: "Because you don't know what would have happened within Germany or within Japan if the people of Germany had known that the conditions which we were going to lay down for surrender were not going to mean the mass annihilation of Germany. For example. Then many of them might have decided to go against Hitler."

GRAY: "Are you arguing now that we should not have annihilated Germany and plaster-bombed them as we did?"

MC REYNOLDS: "We did not annihilate Germany..."

GRAY: "Oh, but we did."

MC REYNOLDS: "...as it turned out. We rebuilt them, we didn't make them..."

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GRAY: "Let's not take in ten years of history. Let's just talk about the days and the closing of the war. That mass bombing that took place of Berlin and Hamburg and Mannheim and all the areas that were -- and Cologne that were demolished, were you in favor of that, or..."

MC REYNOLDS: "I was absolutely opposed to that."

GRAY: "Why is that?"

MC REYNOLDS: "I was opposed to bombing -- first of all, because I think..."

GRAY: "If you tell me 'innocent civilians', I may throw up."

MC REYNOLDS: "There were innocent civilians. Yes, I want you to throw up."

GRAY: "Innocent civilians who had put 6,000,000 people to death..."

MC REYNOLDS: "No, the children of six and five years of age had not put anybody to death. Furthermore most of the Germans were not any more involved in the crimes of Hitler than you were involved for example in the CIA operation invading Cuba."

GRAY: "Oh, please -- oh, please, let's stop that. Let's please, let's stop that. There's a big difference."

MC REYNOLDS: "Oh, there is an enormous difference, but did you make the decision to invade Cuba, did you make the decision on the bombing of Japan?"

GRAY: "If I had made the decision to invade Cuba, we would have sent more troops."

MC REYNOLDS: "Well..."

GRAY: "They never asked me."

BRIGHAM: "And air cover."

MC REYNOLDS: "Well, then it's a very fortunate thing they didn't consult you."

GRAY: "But you see, Mr. McReynolds, the fact is that Germany at that period in its history was probably behind Hitler. Originally they had a chance to knock him out when he was not winning

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by a popular vote, but later on in history, just a couple of years the winning side began to be the popular side, and millions of Germans felt that Hitler was absolutely right and obviously approved of his policies, as witness Crystal Night and from that period on."

MC REYNOLDS: "Yes, but..."

GRAY: "So don't tell me the Germans weren't in favor of Hitler."

MC REYNOLDS: "No look, if you go back and review the history you'll find that a number of the generals were opposed to Hitler early in the game and were concerned about the terms of surrender. The chance of our having brought about a division within Germany, had we negotiated, I think -- not negotiated, had we laid down the terms for surrender, instead of saying unconditional surrender, I think the war would have ended sooner because many of the generals who finally took part in the bomb plot against Hitler were opposed to Hitler very early in the game."

GRAY: "Well, I think we've moved around so many dates and places that it's kind of ludicrous because the only time you can talk about anything meaning anything in that period was after Hitler was gone."

MC REYNOLDS: "You don't think it was significant that a number of generals on the staff tried to assassinate Hitler."

GRAY: "When you say a number, a minute number compared to the entire military organization."

MC REYNOLDS: "According to Shirer there was a whole conspiracy running through the German Army. Now maybe Shirer is wrong."

GRAY: "Running through -- how many does that mean?"

MC REYNOLDS: "Well, do you think that Shirer's book is an accurate or an inaccurate one?"

GRAY: "I think it had great accuracy and some inaccuracies."

DE SEVERSKY: "Some of those are equally great inaccuracies."

MC REYNOLDS: "Of course Shirer indicates that there was a struggle against Hitler on the part of certain of the capitalists for example who were opposed to Hitler's going to their companies..."

GRAY: "Mr. McReynolds, what are we arguing about?"

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MC REYNOLDS: "We are arguing whether if you'd laid down the terms of surrender and said that these -- we're fighting the war to win these specific objectives, we'll negotiate -- Germany wants to surrender this is what she's -- what's going to happen when she surrenders."

GRAY: "Germany wasn't surrendered until Hitler was dead."

MC REYNOLDS: "Yes, but my point is you see that Hitler might have been removed from power much earlier in the game if the German generals knew what was going to happen if they surrendered. As it was you didn't give them any choice nor did you give the Japanese any choice."

GRAY: "Well, I hardly had anything to say about. Maybe Major de Seversky has something to say about it. What's your comment here, Major de Seversky? You look somewhat aghast."

DE SEVERSKY: "No, I'm not aghast. I mean if a person doesn't believe logics of the things themselves and any purpose they were willing to be killed and trampled and destroyed it is his privilege but I don't subscribe to this philosophy. I suppose I would like to ask him what would he do if he was attacked by a bunch of mad dogs. Would you also let them tear you to pieces and won't do anything about it?"

* * *

Victor Riesel of the New York Daily Mirror joined the performance. Gray told Riesel what had gone before.

GRAY: "Let me state that Major de Seversky talked briefly about the hassle that's going on vis a vis generals being allowed to make public comment. Then he talked equally briefly about our military preparedness. Then we talked very briefly about the CIO (sic). Mr. Brigham was silent up to that point, and then I introduced Mr. McReynolds..."

VOICE OFF MIKE: "CIA."

SECOND VOICE OFF MIKE: "CIA."

GRAY: "What did I say?"

VOICE: "CIO."

GRAY: "I think we ought to have a few comments about the CIO."